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settled the difficulties between us by taking the population of Ireland, and bringing them over to build rail-roads, and aid in the growth and prosperity of our republic. It would certainly have been an expensive operation, besides the improbability of having the necessary work done cheerfully by persons dragged from their homes, and compelled to live in a foreign land among those of an opposite religion. But under the influence of peace, what do we see? Why, nations coming to us; and ere long, if we keep the peace, Mexico may be glad to come. Already the Sandwich Islanders have made proposals; and on our Western coast, even the Chinese are coming by thousands. Thus we see the nations ready to fraternize; and the more they mingle together, and unite their interests, the less disposed will they be to cherish the war-spirit.

There is, then, encouragement for us. Light is skirting the horizon where the war-clouds have been wont to gather. Love is gaining upon hatred. Human reason is gaining upon human passions. The world is learning, that a true patriot may look with a benignant eye beyond the confines of his own country, and that the highest national honor and glory may be compatible with national peace.

AMERICAN STATESMEN ON STIPULATED ARBITRATION.

At the close of Mr. Clark's address, Dr. BECKWITH said he had wished to give some encouraging facts respecting our own statesmen; but as there was no time now, he would barely allude to these facts, and give them, if at all, in some other way to the public. We subjoin the substance of what he intended to say, as follows:—

Mr. President, before the resolutions, moved by our friend, are put to vote, I beg leave to say a few words, inasmuch as my official duties have necessarily made me acquainted with some facts, not known to the Society at large, respecting the favor with which our plan of *superseding war by peaceful substitutes*, more especially by Stipulated Arbitration, has already been received by our own rulers both at Washington, and in our State Legislatures.

You are well aware, Sir, that we have for years been in the habit of petitioning Congress for substitutes like these in place of the sword; and early in 1851, our Committee, at the urgency of some of our wisest and most devoted friends, requested me to visit Washington, and press the subject on the attention especially of the Senate and the Executive, as the departments to whose hands the Constitution entrusts the management of our intercourse with other nations. An able and accomplished Senator from this State, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, had just brought our petition before the Senate in a brief but effective speech in its favor; and the whole matter was referred to the Senate's Committee on Foreign Relations, generally the most important of all its committees, at the head of which, however, was a man whose reputation at the North, if not elsewhere, seemed to forbid all hope of success in my mission. Gen. FOOTE, of Mississippi, was its chairman, and I confess I shrunk from the thought of arguing the question of peace before such a man as I had taken him to be; but, to my grateful surprise, he welcomed my errand with every proof of entire cordiality, and showed me indeed all the courtesy and kindness I could desire. When first invited to his committee-room, I expected, at most, only the privilege of some fifteen or twenty minutes' conversation, with permission perhaps to see him again on the subject; but I had talked hardly ten minutes, when he kindly,—for I found him at bottom a kind-hearted, genial man,—though somewhat

impulsively, interrupted me by saying, 'That's right, sir; that's right. I like the principle, it has so much practical common sense. Indeed, it is the very principle we have so long adopted ourselves, with a success so remarkable, for the peaceful adjustment of difficulties between the thirty-one States of our own Confederacy. I see no serious objection to it, hardly any at all; and I think I can get the consent of our whole committee to a report in favor of substantially such a measure as you desire.' So he did, and redeemed this pledge to the letter by procuring from his committee a unanimous report fully in favor of Stipulated Arbitration as a substitute for War.

You know, Sir, that the special object of such action in the Senate, the seal of whose approbation is necessary for the ratification of our foreign diplomacy, was to prepare the way for the Executive, in negotiating treaties with other governments, to incorporate a provision for the settlement of all misunderstandings between the parties, by reference in the last resort to umpires mutually chosen, it being very naturally presumed that the President would not do this without some pledge of the Senate's concurrence; and, as soon as I could get a copy of the committee's report in print, I took it to the President, to the members of his cabinet, and some of the foreign ministers resident at Washington, not one of whom objected to the principle, while some expressed themselves very strongly in its favor. I remember well my brief interview with Secretary Corwin in particular. After reading the committee's report with care, he turned to me, and asked in a tone of surprise and incredulity, 'Do I understand you to say that the Senate's Committee on Foreign Relations consented *unanimously* to this report?' 'Yes, sir, I happened to be in the Senate Chamber when Mr. Foote presented it, with the distinct, emphatic statement, that they were *unanimous and cordial* in recommending the measure; and he was entirely confident,—a confidence freely expressed to me in private,—that the Senate, if brought to a vote upon it, would pass it with nearly, if not quite the same degree of unanimity.' 'Well,' rejoined the Secretary, 'if I were at the head of the State Department, I should consider the resolution as making it imperative upon me to incorporate such a stipulation, if possible, in *all* our future treaties. I have, of course, no direct control over the matter; but I can assure you, if the question ever comes before any cabinet, of which I may be a member, I shall cheerfully give my voice and vote in its favor, as unquestionably the right principle alike for individuals, and for nations.' I will only add, that the President, and other members of his cabinet, though not so full or so strong in the expression of their views, still received the proposition with similar favor.

During the last year, our Society's Committee have taken steps to bring this question of Stipulated Arbitration before our State Legislatures. It came first before that of Vermont, which I visited, and found the leading men of all parties, as soon as the measure was properly explained to them, ready to give it their cordial support. One of their ablest men, as chairman of a joint select committee on the subject, brought in a report strongly in its favor; and the unanimous passage in both Houses of the resolution he introduced, went far to justify the sweeping assertion, made by a judge of that State after reading a document of ours on *Stipulated Arbitration as a Substitute for War*, that he did not believe a single citizen of Vermont, if fully informed, would object to the measure we propose.

On the same errand, Sir, I have visited several other State Legislatures, and met a similar reception from men of all parties. In most cases, the application resulted in the passage of resolutions decidedly favorable to our object; in one it was referred to the next legislature, with a fair prospect of success then, if duly attended to by the friends of peace; while in every case the reception fully justifies the hope of our being able, by wise and per-

severing efforts, to secure ere long the action of all our State Legislatures in favor of the simple yet effective measure by which we propose to obviate the last plea of necessity for war.

The most important result, however, of these efforts thus far, is found in the able, comprehensive and very convincing Report made, on the 23rd of last February, to the U. S. Senate by Judge, UNDERWOOD, of Kentucky, in behalf of its Committee on Foreign Relations. I need not stop to characterise this report, especially after the compliments so justly paid to it by Judge Jay; and I will only add here, that Judge Underwood, a man held in the highest esteem for his general worth and weight of character by all who know him, entered very cordially into our views, and has put himself permanently on record before the country and the world in a document that must link his memory in imperishable honor with a measure destined in due time to uproot, I verily believe, the whole war-system, by obviating its alleged necessity. Indeed, he has been for years a sincere, steadfast friend of our cause; and his name will exert, all over the country, a strong influence in favor of the peaceful, Christian policy he has so ably recommended.

I ought not, perhaps, to omit here a passing allusion to some other auspicious facts. I arrived last winter in Washington at the time when a very important treaty — that respecting the fisheries — between us and Great Britain, was in process of negotiation; and, unwilling to lose so favorable an opportunity of enlisting the example of the two nations on whom, more than all others put together, we must rely to start this great reform in the international policy of Christendom, I sought an interview with the President, and his accomplished Secretary of State, in the hope of inducing them to insert in the pending treaty a provision for referring to umpires all future disputes that cannot be satisfactorily adjusted by negotiation. They both assented at once to the correctness of the principle, and favored its application to cases of difficulty *as they shall arise*; but they had not fully considered the importance of providing for this, as for any other object, by express treaty stipulations. On further reflection, however, they expressed, in a subsequent interview, their readiness and purpose to insert such a provision, if the British minister would consent to it. I had taken the precaution of requesting an excellent friend of our cause, a member of the Senate, well known and highly honored in both hemispheres, to see the minister on this point; and Mr. CRAMPTON, at the close of their interview, frankly said he should be glad to put his name to a treaty containing such a provision. If he did not, it must have been because he deemed himself not to have the requisite authority. I have had no means of knowing whether it was actually inserted: and, if it was, it shared of course the fate of the whole treaty which reached no final action in the Senate; but the simple fact, that the representatives of two such governments, the most influential on earth, were ready thus to begin this fundamental reform in the world's international policy, is a significant index of the progress already made on this subject, and affords good reason to hope, at a day not very far distant, for complete success. We have here reached a fair issue with the war-system; and, making our appeal on this issue to the world's common sense, we must in time gain a full and glorious triumph.

Yes, Sir, the omens of hope are thickening all around us; and a thousand interests, created or sustained chiefly by the general peace of the last thirty-eight years, are all clamoring loudly for the permanent triumph of our cause. The age is teeming with such interests. There is not, in progress or in prospect, an enterprise of Christian benevolence or reform; there is not a pulpit, or church, or Sabbath school, or seminary of learning on earth; there is not a steamer that breasts the ocean wave, or glides along the lakes and rivers of either hemisphere; there is not an iron-footed locomotive that

thunders with its breath of fire along any part of the twenty-five or thirty thousand miles of railway now in Christendom; there is not a lightning wire that sends its messages across empires and continents ahead of the sun himself; there is not a vessel of commerce unfurling its sails to the breeze in any portion of the globe; there is not a factory, not a ship-yard, not a warehouse, not a workshop, nor a farm; not a ploughshare turning up the soil, nor an axe felling the forest, nor a spade digging in the golden sands of California or Australia;—not one of all these great interests but lifts its voice, and pleads with clarion tongue for peace as indispensable to its continued prosperity.

Is it not, then, the duty and privilege of this great Republic to lead the van of such an enterprise? A nobler service she surely could not undertake; and in due time would it wreath her brow with laurels, brighter and far more enduring than any she has yet plucked, or ever can pluck, from fields of patriotic slaughter. God grant she may soon gird herself in earnest for a work so important and so glorious. No people are so favorably situated as ours, none so well qualified in most respects, for the leadership of such a world-embracing enterprise. There are fewer obstacles, and far greater facilities here, than in any other country on earth; and our history and our habits, our present condition and our future prospects, all conspire to mark us out for this high and blessed service. Stretching from ocean to ocean over an extent of territory nearly equal to all Europe; possessing an amount of soil sufficient to support twice as many millions as are now on the whole globe, and increasing with unexampled rapidity in population and wealth, in enterprise, intelligence, and all the elements of national greatness; with no incubus of royalty or nobility upon our young, buoyant bosom, and no huge standing army or over-grown navy to prey, like myriads of hungry, remorseless cormorants, on the vitals of our prosperity; far away from the maelstrom of European politics, with no power in America able or disposed to measure lances with us, and the broad Atlantic rolling between us, and the only formidable foes to our freedom; with few provocations from any quarter to war, and with every possible variety and pressure of motives to a policy uniformly and perpetually pacific; are not we the people, of all others, to take the lead in efforts for the world's permanent peace?

Sir, our own interests imperatively demand it. There is no prayer for our country so comprehensive of all blessings, as the prayer so sadly uttered two centuries ago by Lord Falkland, and so earnestly repeated in our day by Lord Brougham, "*Peace, Peace, PEACE.*" It is the world's great want; and we too must have it, or the fast and thickly budding hopes of our republic will perish. In the language lately spoken in the United States Senate by a Massachusetts statesman, to whom we might almost apply even Johnson's immortal eulogy of Goldsmith, *nil tetigit quod non ornavit*, a man who has borne nearly all offices that are in the gift of the people except one, and graced them all, "It is the spirit of military aggrandizement and conquest," said Mr. Everett, "that has forged the present chains of Europe. It was this that brought down Asia to the dust in the morning of the world, and has kept her seated there in sackcloth and ashes ever since. This blasted Greece. This destroyed the liberties of Rome. It was not a foreign enemy that laid the axe at the root of her freedom. It was her pro-consuls, coming home from the successful wars of Asia, gorged with the gold of conquered provinces. This spirit of aggrandizement and greed of military conquest have done the same for Europe; and will they not do it, if we indulge them, for us? Will they not give us vast standing armies, overshadowing navies, colossal military establishments, frightful expenditures, contracts, jobs, corruption, which it makes the heart of a patriot sick to contemplate? How can our simple re-

publican institutions, our popular elections, our annual or biennial choice of those who are to rule over us, instead of a rule of hereditary succession supported by pretorian guards, how can they subsist under influences like these ?

"But, Sir, give us twenty-five years of peace." I do believe, that this coming quarter of a century is to be the most important in our whole history. I do beseech you to let us have these twenty-five years at least of peace. Let these fertile wastes be filled up with swarming millions ; let this tide of immigration from Europe go on ; let the steamer, the canal, the railway, and especially let this great Pacific railway, subdue these mighty distances, and bring this vast extension into a span. Let us pay back the ingots of California gold with bars of Atlantic iron. Let agriculture clothe our vast wastes with waving plenty. Let the industrial and mechanic arts erect their peaceful fortresses at our waterfalls. And then, Sir, in the train of this growing population, let the printing-office, the lecture-room, the village school-house, and the village church be scattered all over the country. And in these twenty-five years we shall exhibit a spectacle of national prosperity such as the world has never seen on so large a scale, and yet within the reach of a sober, practical contemplation."

APPENDIX.

NO. I. *Report of Hon. H. S. FOOTE, to the U. S. Senate, Feb. 5, 1851, from the Committee on Foreign Relations.*

Mr. FOOTE, on presenting this Report, said the Committee were "unanimous and cordial" in its adoption.

"IN SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

February 5, 1851.—Read and ordered to be printed.

Mr. FOOTE, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, to whom were referred the memorial of the American Peace Society, and numerous other memorials and petitions, praying the adoption of measures for the amicable adjustment of international controversies, reported the following Resolution :

Whereas appeals to the sword for the determination of national controversies are always productive of immense evils ; and whereas the spirit and enterprises of the age, but more especially the genius of our own government, the habits of our people, and the highest permanent prosperity of our republic, as well as the claims of humanity, the dictates of enlightened reason, and the precepts of our holy religion, all require the adoption of every feasible measure consistent with the national honor, and the security of our rights, to prevent, as far as possible, the recurrence of war hereafter ; therefore,

Resolved, That, in the judgment of this body, it would be proper and desirable for the Government of these United States, wherever practicable, to secure, in its treaties with other nations, a provision for referring to the decision of umpires all future misunderstandings that cannot be satisfactorily adjusted by amicable negotiation, in the first instance, before a resort to hostilities shall be had.'

NO. II. *Report of Judge UNDERWOOD, to the U. S. Senate, Feb. 23, 1853, from the Committee on Foreign Relations.*

This able and elaborate Report, in response, as its preamble says, to "the Memorial of the American Peace Society, signed by its principal officers, and various other Memorials, numerously signed, from many States of the Union," enters so fully into the subject as to fill thirteen large octavo pages. Premising that the Committee believe in the right of revolution and of defensive war, it